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ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with descriptive characteristics of 575 black elderly born in the West Indies (WI), the South (S) and the North (N), age 60 and older, living in the poverty areas of New York City. The sample is part of a larger replicated probability sample of 1552 elderly in a primary study undertaken by the New York City Department for the Aging. The most significant finding was evidence of heterogeneity, observed not only in the comparisons between nativity groups but also between subgroupings within each nativity group. Differences and similarities were noted in the variables which had significantly strong impact on the criterion-life satisfaction, as revealed by multiple regression analyses. For the N sub-group, three variables accounted for 40% of the total explained variance of life satisfaction (lack of worry, acquiescence and subjective environment). Among the S, subjective environment and personal efficacy (locus of control) accounted for 26% of the explained variance, and for WI, a health index variable contributed 20% of the explained variance. Findings demonstrate that place of birth, as a major independent variable, provides a functional approach toward gaining greater insight into the life styles and coping patterns of black elderly. (Author)

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LIFE SATISFACTION AMONG BLACK ELDERLY IN THE INNER CITY[1]

by

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ABSTRACT: This study is concerned with descriptive characteristics of 575 black elderly born in the West Indies (WI), the South (S) and the North (N), age 60 and older, living in the poverty areas of New York City. The sample is part of a larger replicated probability sample of 1552 elderly in a primary study undertaken by the New York City Department for the Aging (in publication).

The most significant finding was evidence of heterogeneity, observed not only in the comparisons between nativity groups but also between sub-groupings within each nativity group. Differences and similarities were noted in the variables which had significantly strong impact on the criterion - life satisfaction, as revealed by multiple regression analyses. For the N sub-group, three variables accounted for 40 percent of the total explained variance of life satisfaction (lack of worry, acquiescence and subjective environment). Among the S, subjective environment and personal efficacy (locus of control) accounted for 26 percent of the explained variance, and for WI, a health index variable contributed 20 percent of the explained variance. Findings demonstrate that place of birth, as a major independent variable, provides a functional approach toward gaining greater insight into the life styles and coping patterns of black elderly.

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Introduction: A Paucity of Reliable Data About Aging Blacks

It was Jackson (1967a, 1971a, 1971b) who first devoted major effort toward directing the attention of sociologists, and social gerontologists in particular, to the void that existed regarding usable data about aging blacks.

Kent, a principal investigator of one of the few in-depth studies about black elderly (Kent and Hirsch, 1971, 1972) stressed the urgent need for demographic research to provide baseline data about black elderly for program planning (Kent, 1971).

In this context, Beattie and Morgan (1972) asked:

> What special conditions and experiences are to be found among some blacks and not among all blacks in their aging experiences due to historical, environmental, or social conditions, such as rural vs. urban, low-income vs. middle and higher income, blue collar vs. professional, etc.?

The concern of professionals has had its impact upon governmental agencies, too, so that we find the U. S. Senate Special Committee on Aging (1971) making this statement:

> It is becoming increasingly clear that the problem of [elderly blacks] is really one of multiple jeopardy, compounded by a shortage of reliable statistical information on key matters. In fact, this information gap has emerged as a vital issue in all Committee on Aging research related to minority groups.

The Tendency to Make Undifferentiated Comparisons

But while we lament the paucity of reliable data on black older persons, we see too often the attempt to fill this knowledge gap by comparing black elderly with white elderly--without any concern for the inherent differences that make undifferentiated comparisons dysfunctional, if not harmful. Jackson (1972a) tells us:

> The current tendency to concentrate especially upon those who are old and poor among minorities and to compare them with largely middle-class white aged limits our knowledge of aging processes among minorities.

In a related theme, Heymen and Jeffers (1964), in a study of the relative influence of race and socioeconomic status upon activities of the aged population, concluded that socioeconomic differentiation typically occurred more frequently than racial differentiation. They believed that variations in the activity patterns of their sample could be explained primarily by differences in education, occupation, and geographical origins.

Hobart Jackson provided us with a succinct example of the way in which data based upon research on white elderly is overgeneralized and incorrectly applied to the black elderly. Speaking to the topic under discussion before the U. S. Senate Special Committee on Aging, (1972), on the critical need for finding alternatives to nursing homes, H. Jackson said:

> The difficulty that we increasingly find in our work with the black aged across the country, as it relates to the nursing home situation, is that the problem is almost the reverse of that of the white aged. The problem, in other words, is not of how to keep the older black person out of a nursing home or similar institution, it is rather how to get him or her into a good one (emphasis added).

Overgeneralizations and Myths

There has been a pervasive tendency to treat minority groups as unidimensional and "to ignore important differences within the Black elderly population" (Cantor, Rosenthal and Wilker, 1975). Jackson (1972b) had noted this point when she said:

> There is a myth which holds that racial discrimination can be reduced by treating all persons as if they were racially homogeneous. Such a myth is a "put-on" in the sense that it does not provide for specialized treatment when the situation clearly warrants specialized treatment.

Rubenstein (1971), who completed a major study of social participation of black elderly, had this to say as part of his conclusions:

> My research...prompts me to conclude that we must be quite critical in our acceptance of the generalities and myths surrounding the Black elderly, and demand more thorough examination of our most neglected and unknown population.

What is perhaps even more significant than simply acknowledging the existence of myths and stereotypes concerning black elderly is the fact that

> ...these myths have moved from discredited folklore to the respectability of learned scholarly papers replete with charts, diagrams, and theoretical conceptualizations. Worse still, they have become acceptable to those who determine public policy (Jordan, 1971).

The "Search for Differentials"

The above introduction serves to position the intent behind this paper, using Hirsch's phrase of a "search for differentials" among old persons with the same racial identity, while utilizing a sufficiently large sample size "to permit," as Jackson (1971a) put it, "more sophisticated data analysis by race, as well as enabling the very important trend of restricting samples to black subjects alone ...this allows isolation of similarities and differences among processes of black aging, clearly recognizing...that blacks are highly variable."

The small amount of evidence that has been accumulated indicates that, when blacks are studied as a group without implying comparison to the large white elderly population, we have a better understanding of the particular and unique problems that membership in the black minority group imposes on adaption to aging.

The Sample

In 1970, the New York City Department for the Aging (in publication) conducted a major study among inner city elderly. A standardized questionnaire was used with a replicated probability sample of 1,552 women and men representative of the more than 400,000 noninstitutionalized elderly, 60 or more years of age, living in the 26 designated poverty areas in the urban core of New York City. The replicated probability sample embodied five randomly selected, stratified, interpenetrating matched samples. Through a two-step enumeration process, 2,180 households

were identified as having one or more older persons. Six callbacks ultimately yielded 1,552 interviews.

This paper is concerned with descriptive characteristics of 575 black elderly among the total 1,552 inner city respondents. Findings are based on a secondary analysis of data utilizing place of birth as a major independent variable. The total black sample was trichotomized into those born in Northern United States (N); Southern-born (S); and those born in the West Indies (WI). Table 1 displays this breakdown in detail.

The domain of life satisfaction (morale) was examined for each of the three nativity sub-groups with differences and similarities noted through the use of cross-tabulations with major demographic variables, as well as multiple regression analysis employing those variables which had major impact on the dependent variable.

It is evident from Tables 1 and 2 that both similarities and differences exist between nativity subgroups insofar as major demographic characteristics are concerned. To begin with, we note the unusually high percentage of West Indian (WI) elderly in the sample--19.7 percent. Only 65.0 percent of our sample were Southern (S) born, a lower percentage than in the Kent and Hirsch (1971, 1972) study, where 75.5 percent of their black subjects were Southern born, and only 1.9 percent were foreign born. Over 15 percent of the present sample were Northern (N) born, with more than half of them having been born within the State of New York.

Literature on Life Satisfaction Among Black Elderly

A small number of studies concerned with black elderly reported data that related to life satisfaction. Messer (1968), Kent and Hirsch (1972), Ehrlich (1973), and Dunkle (1975), all found strong positive correlations between life satisfaction and health. In the Kent and Hirsch study, functional health level had the largest significant zero-order coefficient with morale and the largest

significant partial coefficient when socioeconomic status, education and income were controlled. The other leading variables that correlated significantly with morale based on tabular analysis were income, SES, age and education.

Age and morale were negatively correlated when controlling for education and income, while the relationship was positive with controls on SES and health. This suggested to Kent and Hirsch that morale increases with aging if functional health and socioeconomic status also increases.

However, Clemente and Sauer (1974) took issue with the tabular findings of Kent and Hirsch and based on their multiple regression analyses of the same sample data found unclear results in their attempts to arrive at unique correlations of the same socioeconomic variables using morale as the dependent variable.

Other findings by Kent and Hirsch that were related to morale revealed significantly higher scores for males compared with females on a low-to-high index measure. However, the difference appeared statistically non-significant when relative means for morale of males and females were computed and compared. Among the respondents who were married, 42 percent scored high on the morale index, 36 percent medium, and 22 percent low.

Rubenstein (1971) found that black females had higher morale scores than males which seemed to contradict Kent and Hirsch's finding. Ragan, et al. (1975), also found males scored higher on morale measurement than females. In further contradiction to Kent and Hirsch findings, Rubenstein's data indicated that black elderly males who lived alone had significantly higher morale scores than those living with others, and femeales showed merely a slight increase for those living with others compared to those living alone. Kent and Hirsch had found that married subjects had higher morale scores than those living alone or with others.

Cantor, et al. (1975), found that black women in extended families showed

more positive relationship to morale than those living alone or only with their spouses. While Cantor, et al. (1973), found that blacks had higher satisfaction with present life than white elderly, Wilker (1975), using multiple regression analysis on the same sample found race not a significant contributor to life satisfaction.

The Harris survey (National Council on the Aging, 1975) appeared to support Wilker's finding with its data on a national sample of 479 black elderly, which related income more to life satisfaction than any inherent racial difference.

While the studies noted above do not exhaust the total research efforts which reported findings related to life satisfaction among black elderly, they are sufficiently representative so as to point out the contradictions and vagueness that still prevail in this research domain.

If there is a concensus among gerontological researchers concerning the effect of race on life satisfaction among the elderly, it is in the virtually unanimous belief that findings, at best, are ambiguous. This study has not pursued the area of race and life satisfaction, but has chosen to focus only on the black race, examining the measurement of life satisfaction as differentiated by demographic sub-groupings, as well as selected attitudinal variables, within each of the three nativity groups.

Table 3 displays the distribution percentages for the three nativity groups based on a scale designating three categories of life satisfaction: "low," "medium," and "high."

This total sample distribution appeared to be fairly consistent with findings of other studies that addressed themselves to the morale of black elderly. It was in the measurement of life satisfaction of sub-groupings that significant differences became apparent.

Table 4 lists the ten items contained in the question and describes the procedure for scoring. It does appear that more Northern-born black elderly (36.4 percent) had high life satisfaction[1] than either S (28.6 percent) or WI (31.9 percent). In terms of low LS, relatively more WI (33.6 percent) were represented than was true for S (28.6 percent) or N (20.5 percent).

A somewhat different pattern was revealed in the distribution by sex (Table 5). There was very little difference in total percentages of high LS between nales and females (31.6 and 29.8 percent respectively).[2] However, comparisons between nativity groups revealed obvious differences. While relatively more males than females had high LS among S and WI, the reverse was true for N (males: 29.3 percent; females: 40.0 percent). Unexpectedly, N males had the smallest percent with low LS (15.1 percent) compared with WI males (28.1 percent) or S males (28.4 percent). Relatively more N females had high LS scores than did S or WI females.

Not until the distribution by age was examined (Table 6), and more importantly age and sex (Table 7), did it become apparent that N males were not a homogeneous group insofar as LS was concerned.

The youngest age group of N (60-64) actually contained the largest percentage (48.9 percent) of high LS males of all three nativity groups (Table 7). As N males aged, LS scores decreased so that over age 74 there were no N males with high LS. This pattern was almost completely reversed for S males, with the smallest

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[1] For expediency, life satisfaction will be referred to as "LS" with repetitive use.

[2] This finding does not support Kent and Hirsch (1972) data which found significantly more males among black elderly in Philadelphia (age 65 and over) with higher morale (41 percent) than females (34 percent); neither does it agree with the finding of Ragan, et al. (1975). It does support Rubenstein's (1971) data, however.

percentage of high LS males in the 60-64 age group (22.8 percent) and the largest in the 75-79 age group (66.6 percent). The percentage dropped somewhat to 50 percent in the oldest age group. The S females followed a similar pattern with a small percentage (27.9 percent) of high LS at age 60-64, then increasing through the three older age groups to a high of 66.6 percent (75-79) and dropping again in the oldest age group to 20.0 percent high LS.

The WI males appear to have no pattern in the relationship of age to LS whereas the WI females in the youngest age group had 43.4 percent with high LS and continued with 44.7 percent at age 65-69, then decreased significantly to only 16 percent of the 70-74 age group. No WI females had high LS beyond age 74.

To further obfuscate the picture, Table 8 shows that the Northern born older respondents (65 and over) had considerably lower LS as a group, than the 60-64 age group and while this was also true to a lesser degree for the dichotomized WI age groups, the reverse was true for S with increases in LS noted for the older (65+) group.

Table 9 indicates a negative relationship for N between years in New York City and LS, whereas the correlation is positive for S, and unclear for WI. The question immediately comes to mind as to why West Indies-born blacks who also migrated to the city, would not have responded more closely to the S, when in fact the largest percentage of WI with high LS was in the mid group of years lived in New York City (21-40) and the over 41 years category showed a decrease in percent of high LS. Although there is no simple answer to this question, Osofsky (1963), did point out that unlike S,

> Most Negro immigrants felt a strong attachment to their homeland. They demonstrated an "exaggerated" nationalism in America--a buffer against the strangeness of the new culture and the hostility they experienced.

It was apparent that cross-tabulations with Life Satisfaction of age and sex,

as well as other major demographic variables such as marital status, living arrangements, income, education and health (see Tables 17-22) would not provide definitive measures of their relative independent contributions to the dependent variable unless a more rigid statistical procedure were employed.

Therefore, the utilization of multivariate regression analyses was undertaken, affording the opportunity to include many more potentially predictive variables for regression on the criterion, life satisfaction.

In addition, the statistical procedure of multiple regression made possible the assessment of cumulative impact of selected variables, so that it became feasible to quantify the total influence of these variables on the explained variance of life satisfaction.

Table 10 lists a number of independent variables in this study and their zero-order correlations (the separate association of each independent variable) with the dependent variable, life satisfaction.

None of the ascribed variables[1] (age, sex, religion) showed any significant correlation with life satisfaction, although, as would be expected, age is negatively correlated for both N and WI. Without controlling for income,[2] the impact of increasing age (which was strongly related to decreasing income) has reflected a lowering of life satisfaction. No significance was to be found in the correlations of sex with life satisfaction, but it is noteworthy that among West Indian blacks, being a man tended to increase life satisfaction. As to religion, there appears to be a strong negative correlation for N Protestants and for WI Catholics.

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[1] See Appendix for definitions of variables.

[2] Kent and Hirsch (1972) actually found that morale increases with aging if socio economic status and functional health also increase for black elderly age 65 and over.

Clark's (1967) comment on the religiosity of blacks in Harlem shed some light on this point:

> Religion in Harlem, as among Negroes generally, is primarily Protestant, though the number of Negro Catholics has been gradually increasing in recent years. For many Negroes, in a reversal of the pattern some immigrant groups have followed, to become a Roman Catholic is part of a move to higher status because of the association between poverty and inferiority and their Protestant past.

Supporting Clark's contention is Rubenstein's (1971) finding of less than one percent black elderly Catholics in rural areas of the United States compared with over five percent in non-rural areas, indicating that the more sophisticated lifestyles in urban environments would tend to equate higher status with Catholicism for many blacks as Clark notes.

There are a few independent variables in the achieved category (Table 10) which had significant correlation coefficients with life satisfaction. Education was significantly correlated at the .05 level for both N and S, but surprisingly, not strongly related for WI. Welfare status showed significant correlations for S and WI, but very little relationship for N. Related to welfare is the self-rated income adequacy variable (under psychological variables) which showed .001 significance levels of correlation for the nativity groups. The fact that income had no significantly strong correlation with life satisfaction tells us that among black elderly in the poverty areas of New York City how one feels about his or her income adequacy has more relevancy to morale than actual dollar income.

None of the marital status variables showed significant correlation with life satisfaction, although negative trends were strongly indicated for N who were separated or divorced and a positive direction for married WI.

Among the health variables (Table 10), all three independent variables were significantly correlated with life satisfaction. Self-rated health appeared to be the strongest, significant at the .01 level for all the nativity groups. While

the other two health variables, number of health problems and functional inability, were also significantly correlated at the .01 level for S and WI, they do not have the same degree of impact on life satisfaction for N. Functional inability, as a matter of fact, showed very little relationship. The Kent and Hirsch (1972) study found that functional health level had the highest significant zero-order coefficient with morale.

The relationship of social integration variables with life satisfaction (Table 10) showed far less consistency in the correlation coefficients for the three nativity groups. The number of living children respondents reported seemed not to have been a significant factor in life satisfaction for S and WI and only indicated a positive relationship for N. Oddly, the correlation was in the negative direction for WI, which may have a basis in the fact that over 48 percent (48.4) of WI had three or more children compared with 40 percent of S and only one-third of N.

The variable, different ways children help respondents, showed a significant correlation for N only, with little relationship for S, and again, a negative direction for WI with life satisfaction. Respondents' own feelings of closeness to their nearest child provided a significant coefficient for N, but no relationship for S, and a negative direction for WI. These findings clearly indicate differences in the relative importance of the relationships N, S and WI had with their children and the impact such relationships had on their satisfaction with life.

For siblings, relatives and neighbors, unlike children, both S and WI showed positive relatedness in a number of variable correlations with life satisfaction. While N attached no importance to how often they saw their sisters or brothers, the correlation was strongly positive for WI and significant (at .05 level) for S.

Even more important to WI and S was the number of relatives with whom they were in frequent contact, whereas it was of little consequence for N. All three nativity groups showed significant correlations for the relationships between how many neighbors they knew well and life satisfaction, but no group appeared to rely on help from these neighbors in terms of their morale needs. Clark (1967) had a relevant observation, in that older persons in the inner city express the feeling that

> . . . Although they do not care to interact with their neighbors except in the most superficial ways, they consider it a comfort to have someone--anybody--near at hand in case of emergencies.

Having a confidant was significantly related to life satisfaction for S, but not for WI and was negatively related for N. While Lowenthal and Havens (1968) found a positive relationship between the existence of confidants and morale, their data did not analyze black elderly, whereas Dunkle (1975) found that the presence of a familial confidant among black elderly tended to lower morale when the respondents' health deteriorated. Her comment was, "Having family members [of black elderly] see you as weak may really be a detriment."

Group participation was positively correlated with life satisfaction for all three nativity groups, with S having a significant relationship at the .01 level. This appears to support findings by Maddox (1968) and Palmore (1972) and others, that participation in formal organizations are important to the level of life satisfaction found among the elderly, however, as will be reviewed later in this chapter, the importance of formal group membership among black elderly in this study does not approach the importance attributed to its impact on life satisfaction that is claimed by Edwards and Klemmack (1973).[1]

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[1]They found non-familial participation one of the three most important contributing factors to life satisfaction along with socioeconomic status and health.

The political action variable showed strong positive correlations for N and S (significant for S at .05 level) but a weak correlation in a negative direction for WI. This finding appears to contradict the literature in terms of the usual political sophistication attributed to West Indian blacks and warrants further study. Kent (1971) offers a comment on this point.

> Evidence indicates considerable ambivalence on the part of aged Negroes toward the "black revolution." On the one hand the aged blacks admire the courage of many young blacks and can support parts of their ideology. On the other hand, they have been the ones most disadvantaged by ghetto disruption and lawlessness.

Furniss (1969) completed an analysis of political activity and leadership roles among blacks in New York City from 1870 through 1965 and found that

> The widespread notion that West Indian Negroes have held a disproportionate number of political positions is not supported.

In the objective environment domain (Table 10) the interviewer rating was the only variable that was significantly correlated with life satisfaction for all three nativity groups. Frequency of leaving the neighborhood was significantly correlated for S and WI in a positive direction but, surprisingly, was a weak measure for N. Further analysis by sex revealed that only with female N did frequency of leaving neighborhood display a weak relationship, but with N males it was a significantly strong correlation. The mobility of elderly is recognized by most as an important contributor to morale. Faulkner, et al. (1975) have observed that

> . . . It is no coincidence that the ones [black elderly] who say they are "not too happy" tend to be the individuals who live with others and have restricted mobility. All the "very happy" people are mobile.

Being a victim of crime was strongly correlated to life satisfaction in a negative direction for S and WI with the S relationship significant at .01 level. A weak relationship was indicated for N.

The subjective environment variables were strongly correlated for N and S, in the main, and had somewhat weak relationships for WI, except for desire to stay in the neighborhood in which they lived. Whereas attitude toward New York City and toward the neighborhoods in which they lived showed significant correlations with life satisfaction for S and N, for the WI there was no such strong relationship. Comments by Reid (1969) and Lowenthal (1972) on the strong ties of WI to their home islands might account for this finding. Coombs (1970) tells us:

> It doesn't matter how long you have been in America. . . [or] that you have no intention of returning to the [Caribbean] islands during your working life, America is not your home.

The final group of psychological variables included independent variables which were among the strongest correlations with life satisfaction for all three nativity groups (Table 10). The degree of not worrying proved to have the highest zero-order correlation with life satisfaction for N and the second highest for S, third highest for WI (Table 11). What black elderly in the poverty areas of New York City worry about is depicted in Table 12.

It should be pointed out that an item by item analysis for the ten items in the life satisfaction index (Table 4) produced similar response distributions for six of the ten items for all three nativity groups, but for four of the items, differences were observed that warranted noting (Table 13). While explanations for the differences could be speculated on, using Bradburn's (1969) concept of negative and positive affects as separate measure of psychological well-being, and also Wilker's (1975) enlargement upon Bradburn's concept, it is sufficient for the purposes of this study to point out the psycho-social attitudinal heterogeneity among the three nativity groups that is exemplified by the varied responses to these four life satisfaction items.

The acquiescent set independent variable was utilized for purposes of removing

from multivariate regressions that factor which reflects the tendency on the part of respondents to agree with the interviewer in "agree/disagree" question formats irrespective of question content (see Appendix). While it appears to reflect no particular zero-order correlation with life satisfaction for S and WI, it did have a fairly strong positive direction for N, and became an important factor in later forced regression analysis for N.

Table 14 shows the zero-order correlations of the major independent variables with life satisfaction by sex.

It is surprising to find that such variables as closeness to child and number of health problems, which had significantly strong correlations with life satisfaction for N males, are not even among the strong relationships for N females. Equally surprising, were the high ranking correlations afforded personal efficacy and political action among N females (they had no ranking for N males).

On a speculative basis, it would seem that older black women in the inner city responsible for holding families together under difficult conditions would require strong feelings of personal effectiveness if they were to maintain high morale. On this point Lawton (1972) tells us about older persons:

> The person of high morale has a feeling of having attained something in his life, of being useful now, and thinks of himself as an adequate person.

Among the S, however, there appears to have been more of an overlap of significant zero-order correlations for males and females (Table 14). Not worrying, personal efficacy, attitude to New York City and self-rated income adequacy were the highest ranking independent variables significantly correlated to life satisfaction (at the .01 level) for both male and female S. A seemingly surprise relationship was the positive correlation with age for S males, implying that the older he was, the higher his life satisfaction.

The WI males and females also shared top-ranking variables that correlated significantly with life satisfaction (self-rated health, functional inability and not worrying), however, the highest coefficient for WI males was a negative relationship with victim of a crime, a variable that did not rank at all for WI females. On the other hand, WI females had a strong correlation with frequency of leaving the neighborhood and a strong negative relationship with hours spent alone in winter, which evidently were not variables that WI males related to in terms of life satisfaction.

The zero-order correlation coefficients for independent variables on life satisfaction did not appear to present relationships with sufficient clarity and incisiveness as to warrant unequivocal findings and conclusions concerning the black elderly in the poverty areas of New York City. A forced multiple regression was utilized in order to achieve greater analytical precision in presenting the relative influence of each variable when the other variables were statiscically controlled.

However, with some twenty to twenty-five independent variables that were strongly correlated with life satisfaction, it was not possible to execute multiple regressions considering the size of n's representing two of the nativity groups. Therefore, second-order variables were constructed (see Appendix).

Table 15 displays the results of forced multiple regression on life satisfaction for the three nativity sub-groups.

Northern-Born

Consistent with previous findings (Tables 10 and 14) it was not surprising that the variable "not worrying" had the strongest impact on the criterion, life satisfaction, for N. It had the highest beta (.343) with an F value significant at the .01 level (just missing the .001 level). The forced regression revealed a continuing direct impact of not worrying on the dependent variable with a unique

variance of .083.[1] This unique variance explains .083 of the total explained variance of life satisfaction, this being the largest proportion uniquely explained by any of the independent variables.

The second strongest variable impacting on life satisfaction for N was acquiescent set with a high beta of .290 and an F value significant at the .01 level. It had a unique variance of .063 which accounted for almost twelve percent of the total explained variance of .541 for life satisfaction.

This was an unexpected finding, particularly in view of the weak zero-order correlation of .164 and the low acquiescent set score for N compared with S and WI. (Table not shown). The generally accepted explanation for acquiescent response in interviewing is "error phenomenon," however, the acquiescence scores for S and for WI indicated a greater percentage with high acquiescence than N, but there was no impact of this independent variable on life satisfaction in the multiple regression for S or for WI. A possible speculation concerning the reason for the strong impact of acquiescent set on the dependent criterion, life satisfaction, for N might be personality structure rather than response error. More precise explanation, however, will require personality measures as well as more definitive exploration of coping styles.

The third strongest variable contributing to life satisfaction for N was the environment index with a beta of .265 and an F value significant at the .01 level. It had a unique variance contribution of .055. No doubt one of the most powerful first-order variables contributing to the strong impact of environment on morale

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[1]The unique variance is that portion of the total variance of life satisfaction explained by the independent variable "not worrying," controlling for all other independent variables in the regression equation.

was the subjective (positive) attitude of N toward New York City as a place for older persons to live (zero-order correlation .409, Table 10). In effect, this attitudinal variable, operating in combination with other environment variables, probably connoted strong feelings of functional adaptation to living in New York City. This may have been more critical to the life satisfaction measure for N (when other variables in the equation are controlled) than such variables as health factors, self-rated income adequacy and feelings of personal efficacy. Those independent variables which had indicated strong correlation coefficients, such as health (.364), self-rated income adequacy (.349), personal efficacy (.326) and social integration (.451), probably did not evidence significantly large betas because their impact on life satisfaction was indirect and depended upon their combination with other independent variables. Similarly, ascribed and achieved variables, which may have indicated some relationship to life satisfaction (i.e., cross-tabulations of age and life satisfaction indicated a strong negative relationship for N when other variables were controlled in the multiple regression indicated weak direct impact on life satisfaction (thereby indicating that age operated negatively on life satisfaction only in combination with other variables, i.e., poor health, feelings of income inadequacy, etc.).

Southern-Born

For the Southern-born group there appear to be more variables contributing directly to life satisfaction than had been the case for N (Table 15). This might imply that S were dependent on a greater variety of sources for achieving life satisfaction than was true for N. While the percent total of the explained variance had been 54.1 for N, it was only 37.3 percent for S, indicating a more complex situation as regards the total sources of contributions toward life

satisfaction among S.

The strongest variable impacting on life satisfaction for S was subjective environment (beta = .237) with personal efficacy a close second (beta = .228). Both had significant F levels at the .01 level.

All three first-order variables that were used to structure the subjective environment index were among the highest zero-order correlations for S (Tables 10 and 14). Evidently, the need to feel positive about where they lived, along with a strong desire to remain in their neighborhoods even if given an opportunity to move, were significant sources for feelings of high life satisfaction among both male and female S. This again appears to be an adaptive phenomenon, as was true of the Northern-born.

Personal efficacy, the second strongest variable impacting on life satisfaction for S, had been the variable with the highest zero-order correlation for S. The need for feeling personally effective in the complex inner-city environment is understandable, as was noted, for Southern-born blacks who had arrived in New York City at the average age of 32 (see Table 16).

The third and fourth strongest impact variables on life satisfaction for S were social integration and lack of worry, both with F values significant at the .01 level and each with a unique variance contribution to the total of over two percent (2.4 and 2.2 percent, respectively). Several independent variables that had high zero-order correlations with life satisfaction (such as self-rated income adequacy with a .288 coefficient significant at the .01 level) only achieved weak betas in the multiple regression (i.e., .111 for self-rated income adequacy) indicating the possibility that, self-rated income, for example, had no direct impact on the criterion while controlling for other variables, but might have had strong impact when tied to such variables as health, education or age.

West Indies-Born

The strongest variable impacting on life satisfaction for WI was the health index (Table 15), which had the only .001 level of significance for F value among all the variables in the regression. This powerful impact on the criterion (beta = .359) was apparent from the strong zero-order correlations of self-rated health, functional inability and number of health problems (Table 10), all significant coefficients at the .01 level.

Table 22 indicated the importance of self-rated "good" health as related to life satisfaction for WI, and this variable also ranked highest for WI as the strongest correlation coefficient (.469) with life satisfaction (Table 10).

The two other first-order variables that complete the composition of the health index also had significant zero-order correlations with life satisfaction (functional inability at .442 and number of health problems, .296). It is noteworthy that health, while important to life satisfaction for both N and S, required combination with other variables in order to have significant impact on the criterion. With WI, the effect of the health variables on life satisfaction is direct while controlling for all the other variables in the equation. Clearly, further analysis is called for to elicit more precise sources for the logic to support this finding than had been planned for in this study. It should be noted that the unique proportion of the total explained variance of life satisfaction for WI by the health variable was .102.

Second and third strongest variables impacting on life satisfaction for WI were self-rated income adequacy and lack of worry both with F values significant at the .01 level and betas of .215 and .194 respectively.

It is interesting to note, once again, that whereas a first-order variable such as self-rated income adequacy had only indirect impact on the criterion for

both N and S, this independent variable had significant direct impact on life satisfaction for WI.

Other variables with F values of only .05 level of significance were considered much weaker contributors to the criterion.

Implications for Further Research:

Acknowledgement is made of the obvious limitations of this study. Because the sample was confined to twenty-six poverty areas in New York City, it represented somewhat of a bias in the direction of lower income and lower-status black elderly rather than a more universally randomized population which might have been used more productively to the purposes of this study.

One is aware of chance fluctuation and artifact that may influence statistical findings particularly when multiple regression involves data coded by a source other than the data analyst, and compounded when second-order variables are constructed, further introducing opportunities for chance and error to operate with three different sample sizes for the sub-groupings studied.

Therefore, findings presented and commented upon, should be assumed to be speculative and wanting of further investigation with more rigid methodology employed. Nevertheless, a number of implications for further research were apparent from the findings. The patterns of relationships that were found and discussed, in the light of findings of other studies and of relevant references in the literature, do encourage further investigation in the specific directions noted.

As an example, the multiple regression finding as regards lack of worry as the strongest variable impacting on life satisfaction for the Northern-born, is theoretically supported by current gerontological research on the psychological well-being of elderly.

Lawton (1972) attributed to the "agitation" component of his Philadelphia

Geriatric Center morale scale, one of the strongest contributions to the total variance of morale for the standardization sample of 300 he used in testing his instrument. One of the five items in this morale component was: "I sometimes worry so much that I can't sleep."

The impact of the subjective environment variables on the life satisfaction of both N and S also warrants further investigation. It appears that black elderly living in the poverty areas of New York City did not respond similarly to environmental influences insofar as was indicated by the morale of those born in the North, the South or the West Indies.

Additionally, the impact of health factors and self-perceived income adequacy on life satisfaction elicited differential responses from those who emigrated to New York City from the Caribbean Islands and from those black elderly born and raised in the United States. Another major behavorial area, that of relationship with children, family and neighbors, appeared to have a greater impact on life satisfaction for those black elderly who migrated to New York City from the South, than was true for those born in the North or the West Indies.

The most puzzling finding was the importance of acquiescence as a contributor to life satisfaction for Northern-born only, showing no appreciable impact on the criterion for black elderly in the other two nativity groups.

While speculations have been advanced as possible explanations for these unexpected findings, they do not, certainly, exhaust the possible reasons for them. They do underscore, however, the need for more research in the area of patterns of life styles of black elderly in the inner-city. It is hoped that some of the findings would provide sufficient stimulation to other researchers and serve to generate hypotheses that address themselves to the life styles of urban black elderly.

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TABLE 1

PLACE OF BIRTH OF BLACK ELDERLY IN THE

POVERTY AREAS OF NEW YORK CITY

Total:		100.0% (n=575)
Northern-born		15.1
New York State	8.0	
Northeast States[a]	5.0	
North Central States[b]	1.7	
Western States[c]	0.2	
Canada	0.2	
Southern-born[d]		65.0
West-Indies-born		19.7
Caribbean Islands	18.8	
Virgin Islands	0.9	

Note: "No Answers" are not shown and are not included in the statistical percentages of this table and all subsequent tables.

Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

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[a]N.J., Penn., Del., R.I., Vt., N.H., Conn., Mass., Maine.

[b]Ohio, Ind., Ill., Mich., Wisc., Minn., Iowa, Missouri, N. Dak., S. Dak., Neb., Kans., Okla., Tex., Ark.

[c]Mont., Idaho, Wy., Col., N. Mex., Ariz., Utah, Nev., Wash., Ore., Alaska, Calif., Hawaii.

[d]Va., W. Va., N.C., S.C., Md., Ga., Fla., Ala., Miss., Tenn., Ky., La., Wash. D.C.

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TABLE 2

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF BLACK ELDERLY

IN THE POVERTY AREAS OF NEW YORK CITY

		Total (n=575)	N-Born (n=88)	S-Born (n=374)	WI-Born (n=113)
Sex					
Males	(201)	35.0%	40.7%	31.9%	40.9%
Females	(374)	65.0	59.3	68.1	59.1
Age (572)					
60-64	(152)	26.5	34.8	29.6	9.7
65-69	(182)	31.9	29.8	33.0	30.1
70-74	(136)	23.7	14.7	21.8	37.5
75-79	(65)	11.3	13.4	9.2	16.6
80+	(37)	6.5	7.3	6.5	6.2
Marital Status					
Single	(61)	10.6	12.3	8.7	15.8
Married	(167)	29.0	33.1	27.9	29.8
Widowed	(262)	45.5	43.5	47.2	41.7
Sep/Div.	(85)	14.8	11.2	16.3	12.7
Live with					
Alone	(192)	33.4	28.1	35.4	31.0
Spouse	(165)	28.7	33.1	27.4	29.8
Others	(218)	37.8	38.8	37.2	39.3
Work Status (574)					
Retired	(396)	69.2	68.0	68.7	71.8
Working	(114)	19.7	22.0	19.8	17.7
Nev. worked	(64)	11.1	10.0	11.5	10.5
Income (560)					
Under $1,500	(192)	34.2	34.4	35.2	30.6
$1,500-2,499	(218)	38.8	31.9	41.6	34.9

(continued on following page)

Note: n=575 for each category unless otherwise noted.

[1]The n reported in this table and subsequent tables, unless otherwise noted, reflects the use of a weighting procedure employed in the larger sample to better reflect actual distributions of black, white, and Spanish-speaking elderly age 60 and over in New York City.

TABLE 2--Continued

		Total (n=575)	N-Born (n=88)	S-Born (n=374)	WI-Born (n=113)
(Income)					
$2,500-4,499	(106)	18.9%	20.0%	16.2%	27.5%
$4,500+	(45)	8.0	13.7	7.0	7.0
Education	(573)				
None	(16)	2.8	-	3.2	3.5
1-8	(360)	62.8	39.3	69.7	57.8
9-11	(105)	18.4	32.9	14.6	19.6
12	(57)	10.0	15.5	7.7	13.3
Some col.+	(34)	6.1	12.1	4.7	5.4
Living Children					
Yes	(352)	61.2	54.7	60.4	69.1
No	(223)	38.8	45.3	39.6	30.9
Housing	(573)				
Own	(97)	17.0	28.1	11.8	25.7
Rent	(415)	72.5	65.7	76.8	63.4
Others	(61)	10.5	6.2	11.4	10.8
Religion					
Protestant	(494)	86.0	81.3	90.3	75.4
Catholic	(55)	9.6	12.5	5.9	19.8
Other	(17)	3.0	3.3	2.5	4.8
None	(8)	1.4	2.8	1.3	4.8

TABLE 3

LIFE SATISFACTION BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Index Score[a]	Total	N	S	WI
Low	28.4%	20.5%	28.6%	33.6%
Medium	41.2	43.2	42.8	34.5
High	30.4	36.4	28.6	31.9
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	N=575	n=88	n=374	n=113

[a]See Table 4 for explanation of Life Satisfaction Index; also see below for exact wording of life satisfaction Question.

HAND RESPONDENT CARD B

Here are some statements about life in general that people sometimes make. As I read each statement, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with it. If you are not sure one way or the other, just tell me unsure.

Let's start with (READ FIRST STATEMENT) -- do you agree or disagree or are or are you unsure?

		Agree	Disagree	Unsure
A.	As I grow older, things seem better than I thought they would be.....	19 ☐1	☐2	☐3
B.	I have gotten more of the breaks in life than most of the people I know.....	20 ☐1	☐2	☐3
C.	This is the dreariest time of my life.....	21 ☐1	☐2	☐3
D.	I am just as happy as when I was younger.....	22 ☐1	☐2	☐3
E.	Most of the things I do now are boring or monotonous.....	23 ☐1	☐2	☐3
F.	As I look back on my life, I am fairly well satisfied.....	24 ☐1	☐2	☐3
G.	I have made plans for things I'll be doing a month or a year from now.....	25 ☐1	☐2	☐3
H.	When I think back over my life, I didn't get most of the important things I wanted.....	26 ☐1	☐2	☐3
I.	Compared to other people, I get down in the dumps too often.....	27 ☐1	☐2	☐3
J.	I've gotten pretty much what I expected out of life.....	28 ☐1	☐2	☐3

TABLE 4

LIFE SATISFACTION INDEX[a] ITEMS

Item	Correct Response Scoring[b]		
	Agree	Disagree	Unsure
A. As I grow older, things seem better than I thought they would be	2	0	1
B. I have gotten more of the breaks in life than most of the poeple I know . .	2	0	1
C. This is the dreariest time of my life . .	0	2	1
D. I am just as happy as when I was younger	2	0	1
E. Most of the things I do now are boring or monotonous	0	2	1
F. As I look back on my life, I am fairly well satisfied	2	0	1
G. I have made plans for things I'll be doing a month or a year from now . . .	2	0	1
H. When I think back over my life, I didn't get most of the important things I wanted	0	2	1
I. Compared to other people, I get down in the dumps too often	0	2	1
J. I've gotten pretty much what I expected out of life	2	0	1

[a]Based on the Life Satisfaction Index-Z scale as reported in Vivan Wood, Mary L. Wylie, and Bradford Sheafor, "An Analysis of a Short Self-Report Measure of Life Satisfaction: Correlation with Rater Judgement," Journal of Gerontology 24 (October 1969): 465-469; this LSI-Z scale was a modification of the Life Satisfaction scale as presented in Neugarten, et al., "The Measurement of Life Satisfaction," 1961.

[b]Low score: 0-9; medium score: 10-14; high score: 15-20.

TABLE 5

LIFE SATISFACTION BY SEX AND

PLACE OF BIRTH

Score	Total		N		S		WI	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Low	26.0%	29.8%	15.1%	24.8%	28.4%	28.6%	28.1%	37.8%
Medium	42.4	40.5	55.6	35.2	41.4	43.3	34.8	34.2
High	31.6	29.8	29.3	40.1	30.1	28.1	37.1	28.0
Total	100.0% n=201	100.0% n=374	100.0% n=36	100.0% n=52	100.0% n=119	100.0% n=255	100.0% n=46	100.0% n=67

TABLE 6

LIFE SATISFACTION BY AGE AND

PLACE OF BIRTH

	Age				
	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80+
N					
Low	8.2%	31.0%	37.1%	12.3%	28.6%
Medium	41.6	38.6	47.9	38.5	71.4
High	50.2	30.4	15.1	49.2	0.0
S					
Low	29.1	29.3	30.6	16.7	27.3
Medium	44.4	42.7	41.7	40.2	42.3
High	26.5	28.0	26.8	43.1	30.4
WI					
Low	12.5	37.9	34.7	36.5	21.2
Medium	43.7	19.4	37.4	39.9	67.8
High	43.7	42.8	27.9	23.5	11.0

TABLE 7

LIFE SATISFACTION BY SEX, AGE

AND PLACE OF BIRTH

	Northern-Born									
	60-64		65-69		70-74		75-79		80+	
Score	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Low	14.1%	0.0%	15.5%	39.6%	0.0%	61.5%	50.5%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%
Medium	37.0	46.7	60.9	26.2	83.3	19.9	50.0	40.0	100.0	50.0
High	48.9	53.3	23.6	34.2	16.7	18.5	0.0	60.0	0.0	0.0
	Southern-Born									
Low	26.9	30.0	37.1	25.8	28.1	33.3	0.0	21.5	25.0	29.5
Medium	50.3	42.2	40.2	43.8	41.6	42.2	33.3	43.5	25.0	50.3
High	22.8	27.9	22.6	30.4	30.3	34.4	66.6	34.9	50.0	20.2
	West Indies									
Low	0.0	18.0	53.9	32.7	21.1	43.7	27.9	60.0	20.0	0.0
Medium	66.6	38.6	9.4	22.6	33.0	40.3	38.9	40.0	60.0	100.0
High	33.3	43.4	36.7	44.7	45.9	16.0	33.2	0.0	40.0	0.0

TABLE 8

LIFE SATISFACTION COMPARING AGE

60-64 WITH AGE 65 AND OVER

BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Score	N		S		WI	
	60-64	65+	60-64	65+	60-64	65+
Low	8.2%	25.0%	29.1%	27.4%	12.5%	35.0%
Medium	41.6	46.4	44.4	41.8	43.7	34.0
High	50.2	28.6	26.5	30.8	43.7	31.0

TABLE 9

LIFE SATISFACTION BY YEARS IN NEW YORK CITY

AND PLACE OF BIRTH

	Life Satisfaction								
	N			S			WI		
Years in NYC	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High
Under 21	33.3	16.7	50.0	32.4	40.9	26.8	38.9	38.9	22.2
21-40	9.5	42.9	47.6	29.0	44.1	27.0	31.8	31.8	36.4
41+	22.4	44.8	32.8	26.1	41.8	32.0	32.4	33.8	33.8

TABLE 10

ZERO-ORDER CORRELATIONS WITH LIFE SATISFACTION BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Variables	N (n=91)*	S (n=346)*	WI (n=114)*
Ascribed			
Age	-.113	.059	-.110
Sex (female)	-.049	.021	-.145
Protestant	-.175	.035	.080
Catholic	.097	-.035	-.179
Achieved			
Education	.233[a]	.133[a]	.076
Occupation age 50	.134	.040	.031
Never Married	-.056	-.028	-.016
Married	-.004	.063	.153
Widowed	.159	-.026	-.139
Sep./Div.	-.197	-.023	.012
Working	.161	.024	.081
Income	.176	.084	.144
Welfare Status	-.091	-.197[b]	-.201[a]
Health Factors			
Self-Rated Health	.326[b]	.241[b]	.469[b]
Health Problems	-.250[a]	-.160[b]	-.296[b]
Functional Inability	-.062	-.212[b]	-.442[b]
Social Integration			
Living Children	.150	.008	-.070
Siblings Seen Often	-.008	.132[a]	.123
Relatives Contacted Often	.024	.186[b]	.166
Freq. Mtg. with Friends	-.211[a]	.196[b]	.055

Note: Appendix contains more detailed descriptions of variables.

[a]Significant at .05 level.

[b]Significant at .01 level.

*N's shown are unweighted and therefore differ from N's shown in cross-tabulations.

TABLE 10--Continued

Variables	N	S	WI
Have a Confidant	-.115	.215[b]	.036
Neighbors Know Well	.303[b]	.111[a]	.213[a]
Closeness to Child	.234[a]	.081	-.063
Groups Belong to	.179	.199[b]	.143
Ways Children Help	.220[a]	.041	-.079
Ways Neighbors Help	.043	.054	-.079
Hrs. Alone in Winter	-.189	-.154[b]	-.142
Political Action	.206	.108[a]	-.054
Environment (Objective)			
Age Arrive NYC	.063	-.023	-.066
Years in NYC	-.087	.029	.022
Victim of Crime	-.012	-.157[b]	-.183
Freq. Lve. Neighbor.	.080	.177[b]	.310[b]
Interviewer Rating	.231[a]	.208[b]	.291[b]
Environment (Subjective)			
Attitude to NYC	.409[b]	.324[b]	.100
Attitude to Neighborhood	.205	.221[b]	.053
Stay in Neighborhood	.212[a]	.268[b]	.152
Psychological Variables			
Self-Rated Income Adeq.	.349[b]	.288[b]	.302[b]
Personal Efficacy	.326[b]	.349[b]	.237[a]
Not Worrying	.463[b]	.339[b]	.412[b]
Acquiescent Set	.164	.032	-.025

[a]Significant at .05 level.

[b]Significant at .01 level.

TABLE 11

RANK ORDER OF VARIABLES WITH STRONGEST ZERO-ORDER CORRELATION TO LIFE SATISFACTION BY PLACE OF BIRTH

	N	Rank	S	Rank	WI	Rank
Personal Efficacy	.326[b]	4	.349[b]	1	.237[a]	8
Not Worrying	.463[b]	1	.339[b]	2	.412[b]	3
Attitude to New York City	.409[b]	2	.324[b]	3	.100	25
Self-Rated Income Adequacy	.349[b]	3	.288[b]	4	.302[b]	5
Stay in Neighborhood	.212[a]	13	.268[b]	5	.152	15
Self-Rated Health	.326[b]	5	.241[b]	6	.469[b]	1
Attitude to Neighborhood	.205	15	.221[b]	7	.053	-
Have a Confidant	-.115	-	.215[b]	8	.036	-
Functional Inability	-.062	-	.212[b]	9	-.442[b]	2
Interviewer Rating	.231[a]	10	.208[b]	10	.291[b]	7
Groups Belong to	.179	18	.199[b]	11	.143	18
Welfare Status	-.091	-	-.197[b]	12	-.201[a]	10
Frequent Meeting w/ Friends	-.211[a]	12	.196[b]	13	.055	-
Relatives Contacted Often	.024	-	.186[b]	14	.166	13
Frequently Lv. Neighborhood	.080	-	.177[b]	15	.310[b]	4
Health Problems	-.250[a]	7	-.160[b]	16	-.296[b]	6
Victim of Crime	-.012	-	-.157[b]	17	-.183	11
Hours Alone in Winter	-.189	17	-.154[b]	18	-.142	19
Education	.233[a]	9	.133[a]	19	.076	-
Siblings Seen Often	-.008	-	.132[a]	20	.123	21
Neighbors Know Well	.303[b]	6	.111[a]	21	.213[a]	9
Closeness to Child	.234[a]	8	.081	-	-.063	-
Ways Children Help	.220[a]	11	.041	-	-.079	-
Political Action	.206	14	.108[a]	22	-.054	-
Catholic	.097	-	-.035	-	-.179	12

[a]Significant at .05 level.

[b]Significant at .01 level.

TABLE 12

TYPE OF WORRY[a] BY PLACE OF BIRTH

	N	S	WI
Health			
General	40.0%	27.1%	16.1%
Care in Old Age	0.0	4.7	9.7
Spouse or Family	0.0	4.7	0.0
Cost	0.0	3.7	3.2
Money Problems	24.0	27.1	16.1
Fear of Crime	16.0	12.2	16.1
Social/Political			
State of World	0.0	4.7	19.3
Society/Government	12.0	4.6	0.0
Family Problems	12.0	11.4	6.4
Children After R's Death	4.0	4.7	0.0
Loneliness	0.0	11.4	3.2
Fear of Death	0.0	3.7	0.0
Housing Problems	0.0	5.6	6.4
Free-Floating Anxiety	4.0	2.8	9.7
Other (Specific)	12.0	10.3	3.2

[a]Percentages of those who do worry (either "quite a lot" or "sometimes"). Total will be greater than 100 percent because of multiple responses.

TABLE 13

PERCENTAGE OF "AGREE," "NOT SURE" AND "DISAGREE" FOR FOUR LIFE SATISFACTION ITEMS BY PLACE OF BIRTH

	N	S	WI
A. As I grow older, things seem better than I thought they would be.			
Agree*	58.2%	47.4%	55.2%
Not Sure	13.2	14.9	13.0
Disagree	28.6	37.7	31.8
B. I have gotten more of the breaks in life than most people I know.			
Agree*	37.4	43.9	46.8
Not Sure	14.3	14.0	10.7
Disagree	48.4	42.1	42.5
C. This is the dreariest time of my life.[a]			
Agree	16.5	34.2	32.9
Not Sure	9.9	5.3	8.4
Disagree*	73.6	60.5	58.4
E. Most of the things I do now are boring or monotonous.			
Agree	17.6	25.4	26.3
Not Sure	6.6	10.5	7.5
Disagree*	75.8	64.0	66.2

*Correct response.

[a]The Chi Square test for significance was performed for the responses to this question and when N was compared to S and to WI, differences were significant to the .01 level. Differences between S and WI were not significant.

TABLE 14

RANK AND ZERO-ORDER CORRELATION OF STRONGEST VARIABLES TO LIFE SATISFACTION BY SEX AND PLACE OF BIRTH

Variable	Northern-Born Males Correlation	Rank
Not Worrying	.560[b]	1
Interviewer Rating	.559[b]	2
Self-Rated Income Adequate	.505[b]	3
Closeness to Child	.477[b]	4
Attitude to New York City	.474[b]	5
Health Problems	-.447[a]	6
Frequently Leave Neighborhood	.438[a]	7
Self-Rated Health	.328	8
	Northern-Born Females	
	Correlation	**Rank**
Personal Efficacy	.532[b]	1
Not Worrying	.407[b]	2
Frequent Meeting with Friends	-.372[b]	3
Attitude to New York City	.362[b]	4
Political Action	.341[a]	5
Neighbors Know Well	.326[a]	6
Self-Rated Health	.326[a]	7
Acquiescent Set	.246	8
	Southern-Born Males	
	Correlation	**Rank**
Not Worrying	.427[b]	1
Personal Efficacy	.383[b]	2
Attitude to New York City	.349[b]	3
Self-Rated Income Adequate	.303[b]	4
Have a Confidant	.248[b]	5
Age	.237[a]	6

[a]Significant at .05 level.

[b]Significant at .01 level.

TABLE 14--Continued

	(Southern-Born Males) (Correlation)	(Rank)
Relatives Contacted Often	.231[a]	7
Arrived New York City Young Age	.230[a]	8
Frequent Meeting with Friends	.227[a]	9
Years in New York City	.210[a]	10
Hours Alone in Winter	-.198[a]	11
Welfare Status	-.194[a]	12
Stay in Neighborhood	.194[a]	13
Functional Inability	-.186[a]	14
	Southern-Born Females	
	Correlation	**Rank**
Personal Efficacy	.337[b]	1
Attitude to New York City	.312[b]	2
Stay in Neighborhood	.306[b]	3
Not Worrying	.303[b]	4
Self-Rated Income Adequate	.292[b]	5
Self-Rated Health	.288[b]	6
Attitude to Neighborhood	.257[b]	7
Groups Belong to	.237[b]	8
Interviewers Rating	.236[b]	9
Functional Inability	-.230[b]	10
Welfare Status	-.203[b]	11
Have a Confidant	.196[b]	12
Frequently Leave Neighborhood	.187[b]	13
Frequent Meeting with Friends	.180[b]	14
Health Problems	-.165[a]	15
	West-Indies-Born Males	
	Correlation	**Rank**
Victim of Crime	-.429[b]	1
Self-Rated Health		2
Functional Inability	-.382[a]	3
Personal Efficacy	.363[a]	4
Not Worrying	.337[a]	5
Health Problems	-.344[a]	6
Self-Rated Income Adequate	.313	7

[a]Significant at .05 level.

[b]Significant at .01 level.

TABLE 14--Continued

	West-Indies-Born Females	
	Correlation	Rank
Self-Rated Health	.510[b]	1
Functional Inability	-.447[b]	2
Not Worrying	.441[b]	3
Frequently Leave Neighborhood	.342[b]	4
Hours Alone in Winter	-.324[b]	5
Interviewers Rating	.307[a]	6
Siblings Seen Often	.296[a]	7
Self-Rated Income Adequacy	.286[a]	8
Relatives Contacted Often	.252[a]	9
Health Problems	-.240[a]	10
Catholic	-.238[a]	11

[a]Significant at .05 level.

[b]Significant at .01 level.

TABLE 15

FORCED MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF FIRST AND SECOND-ORDER VARIABLES

ON LIFE SATISFACTION BY PLACE OF BIRTH

	Zero-Order Correlation	Multiple R	Cumulative Variance	Beta	F	Signif.[a]	Unique Variance
Northern-Born (n=91)							
Ascribed Variables	.206	.206	.042	-.007	0.008	n.s.	.000
Achieved Variables	.286	.333	.111	.104	1.536	n.s.	.009
Environment Variables	.464	.511	.261	.265	9.630	.01	.055
Social Integration	.451	.614	.377	.159	3.469	n.s.	.019
Health Variables	.364	.631	.398	.111	1.699	n.s.	.010
Self-Rated Income Adequacy	.349	.645	.416	.093	1.156	n.s.	.007
Not Worrying	.463	.687	.472	.343	14.588	.01	.083
Personal Efficacy	.326	.692	.479	.120	2.053	n.s.	.012
Acquiescent Set	.164	.736	.541	.290	10.994	.01	.063

Note: See Appendix for definitions of variables and composition of second-order variables.

[a]From table of upper significance limits of the F-Distribution, B. L. Van Der Waerden, Mathematische Statistik (Berlin: Springer, 1957), p. 340.

TABLE 15--Continued

	Zero-Order Correlation	Multiple R	Cumulative Variance	Beta	F	Signif.[a]	Unique Variance
Southern-Born (n=346)							
Ascribed Variables	.075	.075	.006	.064	2.064	n.s.	.004
Achieved Variables	.148	.169	.028	.013	0.072	n.s.	.000
Environment (Objective)	.260	.286	.082	.107	5.322	.05	.010
Environment (Subjective)	.368	.451	.204	.237	26.222	.001	.050
Health Variables	.266	.493	.243	.106	4.950	.05	.009
Social Integration	.330	.534	.286	.171	12.812	.01	.024
Personal Efficacy	.349	.578	.334	.228	25.371	.001	.048
Not Worrying	.339	.602	.363	.162	11.805	.01	.022
Acquiescent Set	.032	.602	.363	-.000	0.000	n.s.	.000
Self-Rated Income Adequacy	.288	.611	.373	.111	5.371	.05	.010
West Indies-Born (n=114)							
Ascribed Variables .297	.297	.297	.088	-.151	3.291	n.s.	.016
Achieved Variables	.155	.298	.089	-.168	3.943	.05	.019
Environment (Objective)	.354	.416	.173	.189	6.122	.05	.029
Environment (Subjective)	.177	.453	.205	.147	4.470	.05	.021
Social Integration	.343	.518	.268	.085	1.231	n.s.	.006
Health Variables	.545	.653	.427	.359	21.665	.001	.102
Not Worrying	.412	.680	.462	.194	6.674	.05	.031
Personal Efficacy	.237	.691	.477	.133	3.433	n.s.	.016
Acquiescent Set	-.025	.691	.477	-.048	0.432	n.s.	.002
Self-Rated Income Adequacy	.302	.717	.514	.215	7.856	.01	.037

TABLE 16

MEAN AGE, AGE OF ARRIVAL IN NEW YORK CITY

AND YEARS IN NEW YORK CITY

BY PLACE OF BIRTH

	Total	N	S	WI
Age Range:	60-93	60-88	60-93	60-87
Mean Age	68.7	68.6	68.3	70.8
Mean Age on Arrival in NYC	29.1	20.5[a]	31.9	27.7[b]
Mean Years in NYC	39.0[c]	48.0[c]	36.0[c]	42.0[c]
Percent Arriving NYC between Ages of:				
0-17	20.1%	37.4%	13.3%	27.2%
18-34	34.1	33.0	31.5	43.0
35+	45.7	29.7	55.2	29.8

[a]Almost one-third (31.9 percent) of N were born in New York, consequently their "arrival age" was zero.

[b]The mean age for arrival of WI in the United States was 24.5.

[c]These are close approximations, not exact years.

TABLE 17

LIFE SATISFACTION BY PLACE OF BIRTH

AND MARITAL STATUS

Score	Single		
	N	S	WI
Low	20.4%	21.3%	24.8%
Medium	66.2	51.7	50.8
High	13.4	27.0	24.4
	Married		
	N	S	WI
Low	23.6	25.9	19.3
Medium	44.7	42.4	36.9
High	31.7	31.7	43.8
	Widowed		
	N	S	WI
Low	15.7	27.4	44.4
Medium	35.9	43.9	27.8
High	48.4	29.7	27.8
	Separated or Divorced		
	N	S	WI
Low	33.2	41.0	44.8
Medium	44.3	36.2	30.2
High	22.5	22.8	24.9

TABLE 18

LIFE SATISFACTION BY LIVING ARRANGEMENT

AND PLACE OF BIRTH

Score	Live Alone		
	N	S	WI
Low	24.2	33.3	50.5
Medium	43.8	43.2	20.4
High	32.0	23.5	29.2
	With Spouse		
	N	S	WI
Low	23.6	26.1	19.3
Medium	44.7	43.1	36.9
High	31.7	30.8	43.8
	With Others		
	N	S	WI
Low	16.0	25.7	31.8
Medium	42.2	41.9	43.6
High	41.7	32.4	24.6

TABLE 19

LIFE SATISFACTION BY INCOME

AND PLACE OF BIRTH

Score	Under $1,500		
	N	S	WI
Low	27.5	25.6	30.3
Medium	48.3	45.7	43.0
High	24.2	28.7	26.7
	$1,500-2,499		
	N	S	WI
Low	25.4	31.6	40.0
Medium	39.1	42.6	38.7
High	35.5	25.8	21.3
	$2,500-4,499		
	N	S	WI
Low	10.6	28.7	25.0
Medium	46.4	34.5	25.0
High	43.0	36.8	50.0
	$4,500+		
	N	S	WI
Low	0.0	18.2	46.5
Medium	36.4	50.7	20.1
High	63.6	31.1	33.3

TABLE 20

HIGH AND LOW LIFE SATISFACTION BY

SELF-RATED INCOME ADEQUACY[a]

AND PLACE OF BIRTH

	Life Satisfaction					
	N		S		WI	
	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
Can't Make Ends Meet	44.2	19.8	47.2	13.3	52.8	14.3
Just About Manage	24.8	30.9	26.1	28.4	36.5	28.7
Enough	0.0	52.7	14.9	48.9	13.3	51.7
No Problem	0.0	56.3	0.0	79.0	24.0	43.7

TABLE 21

LIFE SATISFACTION BY EDUCATION

AND PLACE OF BIRTH

Score	0-8th Grade		
	N	S	WI
Low	26.5	29.8	35.7
Medium	55.9	46.7	35.7
High	17.7	23.5	28.6
	9-11th Grade		
	N	S	WI
Low	18.2	30.3	26.4
Medium	42.2	35.3	30.1
High	39.6	34.5	43.6
	12th Grade		
	N	S	WI
Low	22.1	17.7	43.6
Medium	42.4	30.6	46.7
High	35.5	51.6	9.7
	Some College+		
	N	S	WI
Low	16.7	22.2	16.7
Medium	8.3	27.8	0.0
High	75.0	50.0	83.3

TABLE 22

LIFE SATISFACTION BY SELF-RATED HEALTH

AND PLACE OF BIRTH

	Life Satisfaction								
	N			S			WI		
Self-Rated Health	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High
Good	9.7	42.9	47.4	21.5	39.8	38.7	8.6	36.7	54.7
Fair	26.8	40.4	32.8	24.6	44.3	31.1	36.3	38.5	25.2
Poor	35.6	52.4	12.0	40.9	42.5	16.6	69.5	20.4	10.2

APPENDIX

DEFINITIONS OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES USED IN MULTIPLE REGRESSIONS AND COMPOSITION OF SECOND-ORDER VARIABLES

Ascribed Variable Index

Age--measured by exact year of age, 60-93.

Sex--a dichotomous variable scored 1 for a female and 0 for a male.

Protestant, Catholic--religious affiliation.

Achieved Variable Index

Education--last grade of school completed.

Occupation Age 50--type of job respondent held at age 50 measured by Duncan's socio-economic index of occupational status (Duncan 1961).

Marital Status--never married, married, widowed, separated or divorced.

Income--total from all sources (if spouse's income was included, total was divided by two to arrive at individual income); collapsed into four categories: under $1,500; $1,500-2,499; $2,500-4,499, $4,500 and over.

Working--dichotomous variable to denote working full or part time, and unemployed, retired or never worked.

Welfare Status--dichotomous variable whether on welfare at time of interview or not.

Health Pattern Index

Self-Rated Health--respondent indicated good, fair or poor scaled high for better health.

Health Problems--number reported.

Functional Inability--determined by responses to three items covering physical mobility (going outdoors, walking up and down stairs, and getting about the house) and three items covering self-care (washing and bathing self, dressing and putting on shoes, and cutting own toenails). Scores based on responses of "without difficulty," "with some difficulty," and "need assistance." High score denoted high functional inability.

Social Integration Index

Living Children--number each respondent had.

Siblings seen often--frequency (five categories from "every day" to "once-a-year or less") sister or brother was seen.

Relatives contacted often--number of relatives (other than children and siblings) seen or heard from regularly.

Freq. Mtg. Friends--frequency ("frequently," "occasionally," "rarely," or "never") with which respondent met with a group of close friends.

Have a Confidant--number of intimates other than child or spouse.

Neighbors Know Well--number.

Closeness to Child--degree of closeness (4-point scale from "very close" to "not close at all") toward child living nearest to respondent.

Groups belong to--number of different kinds of organizations (9 categories) to which respondent belonged.

Ways Children Help--different ways children helped respondent (11 categories) times the frequency of such help ("very often," "fairly often," "only occasionally").

Ways Neighbors Help--different ways neighbor helped respondent (6 categories).

Hours Alone in Winter--average number of hours respondent spent alone each day in the wintertime.

Political Action--three item index, including whether respondent voted in last mayoralty election; whether respondent ever took any other political action and attitude toward political organization of the elderly.

Environment (Objective) Index

Age Arrive in NYC--how old respondent was upon arriving in New York City if born in South, West Indies or out of New York City.

Years in NYC--total number of years lived in New York City at time of survey.

Victim of Crime--whether respondent had ever been "mugged or attacked," "had wallet/purse snatched," "had mailbox broken into" or "had apartment robbed."

Freq. Lve. Neighborhood--how often respondent left neighborhood, scaled from "every day" to "never."

Interviewer Rating--index based on interviewer rating of respondent in two categories: (a) cooperative, indifferent, suspicious or hostile; (b) alert and answered quickly, could understand but answered slowly, slow to understand/had difficulty answering, and language difficulty. The more positive the rating, the higher the score.

Environment (Subjective) Index

Attitude to NYC--respondent asked how he/she felt about New York City as a place for older people to live (very good, fairly good, not too good, not good at all).

Attitude to Neighborhood--same as above substituting neighborhood for New York City.

Stay in Neighborhood--respondent asked: "Would you say that you want to stay in this neighborhood, or would you move out if you could?" Higher score for "stay" response.

Psychological Variables

Self-Rated Income Adequacy--respondent asked which statement best describes his/her situation on how he/she manages: "I really can't make ends meet," "I just about manage to get by," "I have enough to get along, and even have a little extra," and "Money is not a problem, I can buy pretty much anything I want." The more positive the

response, the higher the score.

Personal Efficacy--rated on responses to: (a) In the long run, people get the respect they deserve (agree = 2, disagree = 0, unsure = 1); (b) Most of the time I feel I have little influence over what happens to me (agree = 0, disagree = 2, unsure = 1); (c) What happens to me is my own doing (agree = 2, disagree = 0, unsure = 1). High score denotes strong feelings of personal effectiveness.

Not Worrying--scaled response to question: "Most of us worry at times about what is happening to us or about the future. Would you say you "worry quite a lot" (score = 1); "sometimes" (score = 2); "rarely" (score = 3), "not at all" (score = 4). High score denotes absence of worrying.

Acquiescent Set--index composed of the sum or scores on the following five paired attitudinal statements:

1. (a) In spite of what people say, the life of man is getting worse. (b) The lives of most people will get better in the next few years.

2. (a) The future looks bright for today's children. (b) It is sad for children to have to grow up in this world the way things look for the future.

3. (a) These days a person doesn't know who he can count on. (b) You can trust most people.

4. (a) By taking an active part in politics and social events, people can control world events. (b) This world is run by a few people in power and there is not

much the little guy can do about it.

5. (a) Most of the time I feel I have little influence over what happens to me. (b) What happens to me is my own doing.

If respondent agreed with both items in a pair, he/she received a score of 1; otherwise, a score of 0. The sum of the scores over five item pairs yielded the acquiescent set score with a range of 0 to 5. The higher the score, the greater the tendency toward acquiescence.